

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. VII, NO. 7

FEBRUARY 16, 1959



WASHINGTON, D. C.

15 CENTS

Checking on the Jack Benny Program at the Soviet Border?

What first strikes one about the tape recording released by the State Department in the case of the C-130 is the extent to which we now listen in across the Soviet border. Techniques for radio eavesdropping seem to be so widely utilized that one wonders whether on-the-spot inspection really is required to police an arms and nuclear test agreement.

Constant Secret Surveillance

Why can't the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's militant new chairman, Fulbright, look into this affair, at least behind closed doors? In the January 1958 issue of *Missiles and Rockets*, "numerous and continuous" Strategic Air Command flights over Soviet territory were reported. Last spring two former members of a secret branch of the Royal Navy now editors of the Oxford magazine *Isis* were convicted of violating the Official Secrets Act by disclosing that monitoring devices all along the Soviet frontier record "the least squeak from Russian transmitters, ships, tanks, airplanes, troops and control stations" and provide "accurate estimates of the size and type of Russian arms and troops and the nature of their tactical methods."

The President was asked last week about reports that in the pursuit of intelligence U. S. planes "sometimes play fox and drake along the Turkish border to cause Soviet interceptors to scramble." *Isis* described this game more fully, "An airplane loses its way. Behind the frontier, tape recorders excitedly read the irritated exchanges of Russian pilots, and when the latter sometimes force an airplane to land, an international incident is created." Mr. Eisenhower said "the orders on this are very strict" and "any thought of playing fox and hounds, as you call it . . . is contrary to orders." In executive session officials might be asked how such strict orders came to be issued and why we court more trouble with new military routes which skirt Soviet bases on Kamchatka.

Testing U. S. Radio Waves at the Black Sea?

What next strikes one about the incident are certain implausibilities in the official statements. If this USAF C-130 was merely engaged in studying "the propagation of radio waves transmitted by U. S. radio stations", why did it have to go so close to the Soviet frontier and why did it need 17 men? If Soviet planes came as close to our frontiers, we'd be shooting them down and giving the U. S. pilots who did it a ticker tape parade. The Air Force runs a project called AFOAT, to "inspect" Soviet atomic tests and stockpiles from afar; this seems more likely an explanation for such flights than a desire to see how well the Jack Benny program can be heard at the Black Sea.

As for the missing 11—a real mystery—what newspapermen wonder about among themselves but few print is whether

this may not have been a CIA operation to drop a few more agents into Russia. "American officials scoffed as expected," Earl H. Voss reported in the *Washington Star* February 8, "at the idea that a C-130 transport, unarmed, slow and unmaneuverable, would be sent on a dangerous intelligence mission. Others wonder, however, whether just this kind of plane might not make a good 'cover', particularly if agents were to be dropped. The C-130 was designed as a paratroop carrier. The 'lure' attributed to Soviet radio beacons could then be regarded as a 'cover' or a prefabricated excuse for the American plane's flying into Soviet territory."

Those Senators like Mansfield who have long been demanding a Joint Congressional Committee to keep some check on CIA activities ought to look into this. We need only imagine how Americans would feel if similar hanky-pank were going on along our borders to realize how dangerous it is to let the military and a secret agency like CIA engage in such activities. The European correspondents here seem to take the affair cynically as one of those hazardous intelligence operations in which one usually cuts one's losses quietly rather than trying to build it up as an "incident" demonstrating the wicked duplicity of the other side. As propaganda it fell flat even with normally pro-American papers abroad.

Even the Conservative Star Dubious

In Washington itself newspaper reaction was sour. Chalmers Roberts of the *Washington Post* performed a service by forcing the other papers to take note of the *Isis* case and his paper said editorially, "the timing of the affair seems to be a deliberate effort by the Administration to stir Congressional and public resentment," just when new peace explorations were underway. The conservative *Washington Star* agreed with the *Post* and in an editorial the same day (Feb. 7) wondered why neither the Vice President nor Mr. Dulles mentioned the tape recording to Mikoyan. "It seems strange," the *Star* said, "that, when Mr. Mikoyan asked why we were so suspicious, he was not invited to listen to the recording and decide for himself. The after-the-event indictment of him as a liar would be stronger had that been done." The *Star* concluded by recalling that the shooting down of two planes by the Yugoslavs in 1946 with five dead did not keep us from making Tito an ally later. "Who can say," it asked sagely, "what our national mood will be 12 or even two years hence? We have made peace with the Germans, the Japanese and with Tito. It would be unwise to assume, because of this latest incident, that we will never come to an understanding with the Russians."

Perhaps this astringent response explains why the State Department is now leaking the story that the tape recording release was forced on it by the Air Force.

Less One-Sided Battle May Be Sparked in the Senate By Surprise Resistance

Four Freshmen Democrats Stage A Dramatic House Fight Against the Draft

When the House of Representatives four years ago voted a four-year extension of the draft, only four members voted "no", three of them Midwest isolationist Republicans of a rightist troglodyte breed still in the House: Noah Mason of Illinois, Clare Hoffman of Michigan and Wint Smith of Kansas. The fourth was a one-time radical Non-Partisan Leaguer turned Republican, Usher L. Burdick of North Dakota, now retired.

When the House last week voted another four year extension, opposition appeared from the other end of the political spectrum. A group of newer liberals (joined by two Mississippi Democrats and a Massachusetts Republican) helped swell the total of recorded negatives to 22 (see adjoining box). Four freshmen defied House precedent and the leadership steamroller to fight the military bureaucracy from the floor.

Retired Colonel Joins in Attack

Only two of these four new men voted "no" but all of them challenged apathetic acceptance of Pentagon wishes. The most striking attack came from a retired Army colonel, a West Pointer with 33 years of service, an Army personnel expert, newly elected as a Democrat from Connecticut. Col. Frank Kowalski questioned the value of the draft and gave the House a glimpse (see box below) of how the Army wastes men on menial tasks.

Appointed to a House Armed Services subcommittee to look into military manpower wastage, Col. Kowalski told the House he thought the Army powerless to correct this waste and urged Congress to do it. Unfortunately, as the swiftly closed debate and the 381 "yea" votes showed, the Pentagon is a sacred cow on the Hill.

May Spark A Senate Fight

Nevertheless the unexpected fight staged by the rebellious freshmen (and the wide sympathy it evoked among members afraid to speak up) should help to spark a less one-sided battle when the bill comes before the Senate.

Leonard G. Wolf, first term Democrat from Iowa, distinguished himself by a valiant fight to cut the extension to two years while Congress restudies the whole question of the draft. This is the position supported by both the AFL-CIO and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce but the military bureaucracy proved stronger than labor and capital combined.

Wolf summed up the case against conscription as put by many military experts from Britain's Liddell Hart to Gen. Harold Maddux, manpower director for the Defense Department. The latter asked last May for "dramatic changes in pay and attitudes" to create a professional military service, protesting that modern military needs were not met by "huge numbers of men compelled to serve against their will."

Freshman Wolf drew support on the floor from two courageous older Oregon Democrats, Mrs. Edith S. Green and Chas. O. Porter and from a Republican, Philbin of Massachusetts, who called the draft "the labored application of

The 22 Recorded Against The Draft

Carter (D. Iowa), Dorn (D. S. C.), Green (D. Ore.), Gross (R. Iowa), Harmon (D. Ind.), Hoffman (R. Mich.), Kastenmeier (D. Wis.), Lane (R. Mass.), Marshall (D. Minn.), Mason (R. Ill.), Meyer (D. Vt.), Moulder (D. Mo.), Philbin (R. Mass.), Porter (D. Ore.), Shipley (D. Ill.), Siler (D. Ky.), Smith (R. Kans.), Wier (D. Minn.), Williams (D. Miss.), and Winstead (D. Miss.), voted "no." Johnson (D. Col.) and Powell (D. N. Y.) were paired against the draft.

19th century, Prussianized military techniques to the incredibly complex, technical and scientific problems of the nuclear, space age."

The weak presentation by the House leadership—Democratic but indistinguishable from the Republicans, as on so many issues—showed it was concerned with political effect abroad rather than with military efficiency. Vinson of Georgia, powerful chairman of Armed Services, echoed Army Chief of Staff Taylor's plea that "in the present international climate" any reduction of the draft might suggest to our allies "that perhaps we don't think the situation is particularly serious."

Coupled with this was (1) the usual argument that the draft was needed to pressure more men into enlisting and (2) a fatalistic acceptance of continued conflict. "We know," Vinson said, "that the cold war will continue. We know that there will probably be future Lebanons and future Formosas."

The Two New "Peace" Congressmen Speak Up

This attitude was eloquently challenged by two Democratic House freshmen elected as "peace" candidates, Bryon L. Johnson of Colorado and William H. Meyer of Vermont. The former declared "for too long this nation has been governed by its fears" and urged that Congress pay more attention to mobilizing its youth not "to man missiles of mass destruction but rather to training young men as technical missionaries with slide rules, with medical kits, to fight communism on a positive basis . . . as missionaries of peace."

Meyer told the House the Pentagon "itself knows" that the draft system is wrong and pushes the extension bill "only because they are afraid to try to change it." "I wish," Meyer said, "that I did not have to conclude that a cancerous militarism is growing in this country. It poses a threat to most of our institutions and creates an unevaluated inner peril." He protested that the bill was being rammed through the House without even waiting for the hearings to be printed so members could evaluate the measure more thoughtfully.

Silliest remark of the debate: "In many ways," said GOP whip Leslie C. Arends (Ill.) unctuously, "the draft law is a tribute to the Christian principles of our people." He meant that Americans were so opposed to war that they had to be drafted!

West Pointer Tells Congress How the Army Brass Wastes Soldiers to Get Servants

"In the light of my experience, I have no hesitation in telling you that there are thousands of American soldiers performing duties completely unrelated to our security efforts and contributing nothing to our capability to defend this Nation. Hundreds of men are serving as houseboys, cooks, laundry boys, maids and servants for our senior officers.

"In the Pentagon, there are sergeants, on whose training we have spent thousands of dollars, being used as mess boys and waiters. There are a large number of senior non-commissioned officers in the Pentagon who have not worn a

uniform of their service for years, but are dressed instead in the neat black suits of chauffeurs.

"Very bluntly, Mr. Chairman, I do not want my son or the sons of my constituents to be drafted to serve as a laundry boy or a waiter.

"I am convinced that Congress has the obligation to take a hard, critical look at the utilization of enlisted men in the military services. I believe that after this hard look is taken, this Congress can literally shake out one or two divisions of troops in the Army."

—Rep. Frank Kowalski (D. Conn.), Feb. 5.

U. S. Scientists Say Known Techniques Already Available to Improve Detection Methods

Newly Released Testimony Debunks Time-Teller Scare Campaign on Testing

Time (Feb. 2): "The AEC's long-standing doubts about the Eisenhower-Dulles disarmament policy came to a boil last month when a panel of U.S. scientists who had found that detection of nuclear tests was dependable—the scientific underpinning of the Eisenhower-Dulles policy—reversed themselves and admitted that underground blasts even up to Hiroshima size were not detectable (*Time*, Jan. 12). Thus the Russians could presumably cheat on any agreement at will."

Humphrey disarmament subcommittee testimony Jan. 28 (released Feb. 8) by Dr. James FISK, chairman of the Western delegation to the Geneva Technical Conference last summer:

"Now we had concluded last summer, and stated in our report, that tests of 5 kilotons, conducted underground, could be detected with a very high probability and that about 90 percent of seismic events of this yield equivalent could be definitely identified as earthquakes.

"The newest data in the Nevada tests last Fall show that there are about twice as many earthquakes of about that equivalent size as we had thought. Mr. [Carl] Romney [seismologist with the Air Force and chairman of the scientists panel which evaluated the new data] will confirm this or correct me.

"It also turns out that the actual signal . . . is somewhat less, I believe, about 60 percent or two-thirds of what we had assumed on the basis of earlier information.

"Taking these two things together, the problem of identification is more difficult than we had thought, and therefore, *if the system that is described in this [Geneva technical] report were adopted without any modification whatever* [italics added—IFS], the requirement of on-site inspection by people would be about ten times as great as we had anticipated. . . .

"Meanwhile, a careful look has been going on at the ways in which the present system described in this report could be improved *with known techniques, available technology and science* [italics added—IFS], to restore the capability of the system to the capability which was stated in this report, and I can say that these new or modified methods . . . give real promise of restoring the system to the capability which was stated in this report. . . .

Senator WILEY. "In the Geneva Conference did you arrive with the Soviet representatives at any arrangement limiting our right in any way to improve our detection system?"

Dr. FISK. "No, sir. On the contrary we all of us recognized there, and it is stated in more than one place in this report, that it is only to be expected that improvements would follow with the sort of scientific research and development that would be normal in a field like this. . . ."

Dr. ROMNEY. ". . . Dr. Fisk is certainly correct, the door is not closed for improvements, and the methods by which one would proceed to detect small shots are quite clear. . . ."

This new evidence, which press coverage ignored, shows (1) the new nuclear test detection data released by the Defense Dept. was not obtained by using the instrumentation recommended by the experts at Geneva last summer, (2) it does not provide a test of how that detection system would work, (3) the head of the Defense Dept. panel admits those instruments would give better results and (4) we already have known methods for improving the Geneva system to reach its projected level of efficiency.—IFS

[Italics added—IFS]

Senator HUMPHREY. "An article appeared on January 20 in *Pravda* by two of the Soviet scientists that attended these Geneva talks, Y. V. Riznichenko and L. Brekhovski . . . (they) criticize the equipment used to record these three [new] underground blasts. They state,

" . . . The Conference of Experts recommended the establishment by the control posts of a set of 10 grouped vertical seismographs with an amplification of about a million and a maximal sensitivity for registering vibrations with a period of about one second and a sufficiently wide pass band. In addition, the establishment of several sets of equipment with a wider pass band was also recommended.

"The American seismologists, however, applied equipment with a considerable lesser amplification. A narrow pass band and a maximum of sensitivity for vibrations with a period of about 0.3 second. There was no equipment with a wide pass band. To a specialist it is clear that such equipment does not tally with the recommendations of the experts' conference AND IS LESS SENSITIVE IN PARTICULAR ALSO IN REGISTERING THE AMPLITUDE OF THE FIRST VIBRATION OF A LONGITUDINAL WAVE [emphasis added—IFS] which is an important factor in determining the period of the source of the seismic feature. . . ."

Senator HUMPHREY. "Is the criticism valid that the instrumentation was not according to that recommended by the experts at Geneva?"

Dr. ROMNEY. "It was not claimed that the equipment at these stations is identical to what a control post would have, according to the Geneva recommendations. This is an impossibility, for very good reasons, if you read what the recommended equipment was. These are very elaborate stations, and we could not do it; but neither do we claim, and in what was given to the Russians it was not claimed, that these were Geneva-type stations. . . ."

"Now the improvement you would get by having ten instruments instead of one can be calculated rather simply. The improvements you would get by using other kinds of instruments are more difficult to account for. That is certainly true."

Our Experts Confirm Soviet Denial Geneva Pact Based on One Test Only

"There were available to the Conference of Experts [at Geneva] data on only one nuclear explosion."

—Defense Dept. release on new test data Jan. 16.

"In April a new presidential science panel, headed by Cornell's Bethe, reported after studying results of just one U. S. test shot in Nevada that test detection was dependable."

—*Time*, February 2.

Senator HUMPHREY. The Soviet scientists [in *Pravda* Jan. 20] appear to object to the inference that the Geneva technical conclusions on the seismic method of detecting tests were based primarily on the results of one nuclear underground test. . . .

Dr. ROMNEY [chairman of the Defense Dept. panel on the new data]. I don't think it was claimed that the conclusions were based entirely on Rainier [the 1.7 kiloton first Nevada test]. This statement, I believe, is misleading,

simply that. The Soviet statement is misleading.

Senator HUMPHREY. What about the Soviet statement to the effect that the conclusions drawn by the experts were based on, "many years experience in the investigation of many thousands of earth tremors as well as many hundreds of seismic registrations of large TNT explosions"?

Dr. ROMNEY. That is certainly true.

Dr. FISK [chairman of the U. S. delegation at the Geneva technical talks]. Yes, this is entirely true. . . . There have been many seismic investigations of underground explosions of TNT, and we spent a good deal of time discussing these, our data, Canadian data, Russian data, and so on. And of course the U. S. Government has made seismic measurements on nuclear shots that are above the ground, which are not completely irrelevant.

—Executive Hearing Jan. 28, released Feb. 8.

Unnoticed Revelations in the Latest SACB Order Against the Communist Party

Exposing the True Faces Behind Some of Those Faceless Informers

Mrs. Mary Markward was one of the heroines of the witch hunt. Hers was the story of a humble hairdresser who joined the Communist party to put the finger on its members in the District of Columbia area for the FBI.

She was a star witness in many radical prosecutions including that which the Attorney General began nine years ago to force the Communist Party to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board.

The Subversive Activities Control Board has just issued its third order requiring the Communist Party to register—the two earlier ones were sent back to it by the Courts.

"Sincere, Fortright . . ."

In its first order in 1953 Mrs. Markward was a key witness; in its second in 1956, even after FBI records in the Philadelphia Smith Act case cast doubt upon her, the Board still found her "sincere, forthright . . . not . . . one who would deliberately fabricate testimony."

The latest order, however, finds that she did not tell the truth when she testified that she worked for the FBI without pay: "she received substantial payments." It also throws out her testimony that Philip Frankfeld, once head of the party in the District-Maryland area, said Communists would not bear arms against the Soviet Union. The Board does not find that Mrs. Markward "palpably lied" but decides her testimony "should be assayed with caution."

So one by one, in this obscure prosecution of a hated and isolated minority party, the government's informers are being exposed. When the Supreme Court sent the original order back, holding that "a fastidious regard for the honor of the administration of justice" required full inquiry into the charges of perjury against the informers Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson and Harvey Matusow, the Justice Department indicated its own opinion by failing to defend them. Their testimony was stricken from the record.

When discrepancies in testimony given in various Smith Act and deportation cases threw doubt on others, and the Jencks rule gave the defense a chance to examine the original

No Need to Be Alarmed

President Eisenhower's recommendation in his State of the Union Message for a Committee on National Goals was "welcomed" in a tongue-in-cheek resolution adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party — Social Democratic Federation at a meeting in Washington February 8. The National Committee noted however that (according to a New York Herald-Tribune story of January 27) some White House advisers were turning against the idea "because they fear the next step would be economic planning." The Socialists said, "It is time Americans stopped thinking of planning as a dirty word." The Washington Star, in reporting the Socialist resolution, added protectively that the Eisenhower proposal was "in fact, a revival of a project of another Republican-conservative, Herbert Hoover, no Socialist. . . ." We are happy to pass on this reassurance to our readers.

FBI reports, more turned out to be tainted. Key portions of the testimony of informers Honig, Cummings and Scarlett were stricken on the second round.

Now with the third order, the Board strikes down not only two key points in Mrs. Markward's testimony but two of the most sensational stories told by Louis Budenz: the alleged "Starobin letter" and the "Wiener conversation."

The original FBI records of Budenz's prolonged interrogation on leaving the party supported neither story. The Board concludes that while these were not "deliberately false", "the fair thing is to strike the testimony" since Budenz is too ill with heart disease to be cross-examined on the discrepancy.

We dwell on this dreary record because it has wider implications. In hundreds of cases lives have been ruined and reputations destroyed by these and other informers because the right to confront them has been denied in loyalty-security cases. The government is even now preparing a bill which would permit it to restrict the right to travel without allowing passport applicants to cross-examine such accusers.

Here we can see the true face behind some of those faceless informers.

IFS Speaks Cleveland Feb. 20 for WILPF and Feb. 21 for City Club Lunch Forum

8:15 p.m. Friday, Feb. 20, Church of the Saviour, 2537 Lee Road, Cleveland Heights

**I. F. Stone's Weekly, 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
Washington 15, D. C.**

Please renew (or enter) my sub for the enclosed \$5:*

Name

Street

City Zone.....State.....

Enter gift sub for \$2 (6 mos.) or \$4 (1 yr.) additional:
2/16/59

(To) Name

Street

City Zone.....State.....

Shall we send gift announcement? Yes ☐ No ☐

I. F. Stone's Weekly

5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.

Washington 15, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

Entered as
Second Class Mail
Matter
Washington, D. C.
Post Office

➡ Notice — Please Renew If You Are Due to Keep Your Weekly Coming